BULLETIN

OF THE

American Schools of Oriental Research

JERUSALEM BAGHDAD

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

	PAGE
Notes from the President's Desk	1
December Meeting of the Board of Trustees	3
Annual Meeting of the Corporation	6
Annual Financial Report	7
Members and Contributors	10
The Fifth Season of Exploration in the Negeb. Nelson Glueck	11
On a Drastic Current Reduction of South-Arabian Chronology. A. Jamme, W. F.	25
The Prayer of Nabonidus. David Noel Freedman	31
A Legal Formula in Egyptian, Egyptian-Aramaic, and Murabba'at Documents. Jacob J. Rabinowitz	33
Open Letter to Alumni and Friends of the Schools	34
Publications of the Schools	35

For Indexes to the BULLETIN see Nos. 50, 74, 76, 80, 103, 105, 141.

NOTES FROM THE PRESIDENT'S DESK

The annual Christmas meetings of the Schools were held this year, as scheduled, on December 26, 1956.

A copy of the minutes of the meeting of the Board of Trustees is to be found in this BULLETIN. We had a record number in attendance and a great deal of important business was accomplished. May I express my appreciation to the Trustees who were so generous in giving their time.

The Corporation of the Schools met that same evening and a copy of

the minutes of the group is also included in this BULLETIN. Again I would like to express my appreciation to those Corporation members who so kindly gave their time. I know it is extremely difficult for some of you to reach the east coast the day after Christmas and, in order to make it possible for more of you to attend, we shall try in future to separate this meeting from Christmas Day by a longer interval.

The Schools contributed the usual program to the joint meeting with the Society of Biblical Literature.

The meeting of the Friends and Alumni of the Schools was very well attended and I would like to congratulate President Cross for the fine way in which he handled the occasion. I also wish to welcome the new President, Dr. James Muilenburg.

This is the time of the year when I express my appreciation to the various committees for their fine cooperation during the past year. The Executive Committee has been most cooperative and the members have been available, either by telephone or in person, whenever they were needed.

Dr. Reed will continue as chairman of the Jerusalem School Committee and Dr. Kramer as chairman of the Baghdad School Committee. I am confident that you will all give them the cooperation that you have shown previously.

The membership of the Finance and Editorial Committees will remain the same and I know they will operate in the same efficient manner as they have in the past.

As of this date the situation in the Near East remains obscure. We cannot yet say what we shall be able to do in Jordan during this coming year. Our various field appointments are subject to change and we ask that everybody involved be as patient as possible. I am sure that all of you who have any knowledge of the economic and political situation in the Near East know that the local governments are doing the best that they can, and if we can exercise as much forbearance, to say nothing of patience, as possible, perhaps we can help. Above all, it is necessary that the situation in that part of the world should be considered from the viewpoint of people living close to it. Our local staffs in Jerusalem and Baghdad are doing a splendid job and I only wish it were possible to keep them out there. But they all have personal obligations which they must meet at home, so that it will be up to their successors to uphold the traditions of the Schools. Our reputation for scholarship in that part of the world is untarnished. We know that the local governments and our State Department are all anxious for us to carry on. We can only hope that this may prove possible.

A. HENRY DETWEILER

February, 1957

DECEMBER MEETING OF THE BOARD OF TRUSTEES

The winter meeting of the Board of Trustees was held at the Waldorf-Astoria in New York City beginning at 1:30 p. m. on December 26, 1956. Present of the Trustees were Messrs. Albright (First Vice-President), Brown (Secretary); Colt, Detweiler (President), Kraeling, May, Phelps, Rabinowitz, Reynolds, Scott, Wilkinson and Wright; of the Associate Trustees Messrs. Anderson, Jeffery, Muilenburg and Whittaker; in other capacities or by invitation: Messrs. Gehman (Evaluation Committee) Goetze (Director Baghdad School), Kienbusch, Knight (Provident Trust Company), Kramer (Baghdad School Committee), Reed (Chairman Jerusalem School Committee), Skehan (Director Jerusalem School 1955-56), Speiser (Second Vice-President), Mrs. Walton (Business Manager).

President Detweiler called the meeting to order, called the roll and presented Mr. Otto Kienbusch as a guest. It was voted to approve the minutes of the meeting of March 31, 1956, as mimeographed and distributed. The President summarized the activities of the Schools since the last meeting. It was reported that arrangements have been made to provide insurance which will cover employees of the Schools, including employees in America, Jerusalem, and workers on excavations. It was voted to approve this arrangement regarding insurance. It was reported by the President that duty has been paid in Jordan for the Chevrolet carry-all which had been shipped to the Jerusalem School.

It was voted to receive the following institutions into Corporation membership:

The Episcopal Seminary of the Southwest, Austin, Texas
The College of the Bible; Phillips University, Enid, Oklahoma
The College of the Bible, Lexington, Kentucky
Moravian College and Theological Seminary, Bethlehem, Pennsylvania
The Divinity School, Drake University, Des Moines, Iowa
Protestant Episcopal Theological Seminary, Alexandria, Virginia

The President reported that the Bollingen Foundation has been approached regarding funds for use in excavations at Sardis, Turkey. The President hopes to participate in the work with Prof. Hanfman, whose preliminary investigations indicate that the site of the proposed excavation is a promising one.

It was voted to approve the President's action in cabling $1000 to Director Dentan in Beirut during November when the group was evacuated for a period of about three weeks from the Jerusalem School.

The President reported concerning his appointment of a Planning Committee and Development Committee as indicated in his Annual Report. In connection with the work of these committees it was reported by Mr. Reynolds that financial contributions to the work of the Schools can be anticipated by institutions because of an interest in improving cultural relations between this country and countries of the Near East.

The President reported that Professor C. C. Torrey died on November 12, 1956, and that a gift of $1000 has been received from the estate. The President read a memorial minute about Prof. Torrey which was prepared by Prof. Millar Burrows. This minute was accepted by a rising vote, and it was suggested that Prof. Torrey's daughter be notified of the minute.

> Charles Cutler Torrey was born December 20, 1863, and died November 12, 1956. He was a graduate of Bowdoin College and the Andover Theological Seminary and received the degree of Ph. D. at the University of Strasbourg in 1892. After teaching at Andover for eight years, he became Professor of Semitic Languages at Yale University, where he served for the next thirty-two years. For the first year of his appointment at Yale, he was given leave of absence to work in Palestine. There, in a hotel room at Jerusalem, he opened the American School of Archaeology, later to be named the American School of Oriental Research. During the same year he engaged in excavating Phoenician tombs at Sidon. After returning to America he was for many years chairman of the

Managing Committee of the American School of Archaeology and later Vice-President of the Schools. His lively interest in archaeology and epigraphy, and especially in seals and coins, continued throughout his life.

Professor Torrey's scholarly productions, especially in Arabic and Islamic studies, the Old Testament, the apocryphal literature, and the Semitic substratum of the New Testament, were marked by thoroughness and originality. The conclusions he reached in several of these fields have not been accepted by the majority of specialists; the facts he brought out and the questions he raised, however, have stimulated investigation and discussion and cannot be ignored. He was a superb teacher; his former students owe much to his high standards of scholarship, his independence and integrity, and his quiet enthusiasm for truth and beauty. His associates in the American Schools of Oriental Research recall with gratitude his long and active leadership in their work and the bequest which demonstrates his lasting devotion.

It was reported by the President that a gift of $5,400 from Mrs. Walter Seely has been received for the work of the Baghdad School. It was voted to accept this gift with gratitude. The President also reported that the New Haven office has been moved to 51 Hillhouse Avenue and that some extra expense has been incurred in making the move. He also reported that Mr. Karl Katz is now completing a two-year appointment on the Rabinowitz Fellowship. It was reported that he has made an excellent use of the opportunities afforded through this Fellowship.

Mr. Knight, of the Provident Trust Company, reporting for the Treasurer, presented the financial Annual Report for the period ending June 30, 1956. It was voted to accept the Annual Report.

It was voted to receive the report of Mgr. Patrick W. Skehan, director of the Jerusalem School in 1955-56.

Reporting in behalf of the Jerusalem School Committee, the chairman, Prof. Reed, stated that the work of the committee has been carried on by means of an increasing amount of correspondence and one meeting held on December 26, 1956. The committee expressed its special gratitude for the able leadership displayed by President Detweiler during the recent emergency, and for the loyal and wise service rendered by the staff in Jerusalem.

It was reported that the three joint field operations of the Jerusalem School with Drew-McCormick Theological Seminaries, The Church Divinity School of the Pacific-University Museum of the University of Pennsylvania and the Southern Baptist Theological Seminary were successfully carried on between April and September, 1956. Of the honorary appointees for the current academic year, none has arrived in Jerusalem at the present date, Prof. Wm. LaSor being in Europe when last heard from, and Prof. Paul E. Bloomhardt reporting that the recent crisis in the Near East has led him to postpone his trip until next year. It was reported that Director and Mrs. Dentan, and the two Fellows, Pellett and Toombs, are in Jerusalem after an absence of three weeks, while Annual Professor Neil Richardson has returned to the USA. It was reported that the committee has approved an expenditure from the current budget of up to J. D. 300 for field work with the Department of Antiquities at 'Ain Feshkha. The request came from Director Dentan who had been approached by the Department of Antiquities; Père Roland de Vaux will participate in the work. [Word was received later that this expedition was cancelled.]

Acting on the recommendations of the Jerusalem School Committee, the Trustees:

1. *Voted* to empower the Executive Committee to approve a recommendation of the Committee within the next three months concerning the appointment of an Annual Professor for 1957-58. The names of several qualified persons have been suggested, but it will be necessary to determine whether or not they will be free to accept this appointment.

2. *Voted* to appoint the following as Fellows to the Jerusalem School for 1957-58:

Dr. Paul W. Lapp, Baltimore, Md.
Dr. Joseph Fitzmyer, S. J., Rome, Italy

3. *Voted* to appoint Prof. Henry S. Gehman, The Theological Seminary, Princeton, as Honorary Lecturer at the Jerusalem School for the spring and summer of 1957.

At the request of the President a letter of greeting from Director Dentan was read, and also a letter from Prof. Toombs indicating that a busy program is in effect at the Jerusalem School. Prof. Kraeling reported regarding the present situation at the Palestine Archaeological Museum, stating that the American Ambassador in Jordan has replaced Pére de Vaux as president of the trustees, and that Dr. Abdul Gharaybeh, the newly appointed Director of Antiquities, has replaced Gerald L. Harding as Acting Curator of the Museum.

It was voted to receive the report of the Director of the Baghdad School, Prof. Goetze. Two bronze foundation statues discovered during the recent excavations at Nippur were displayed by him.

Reporting on behalf of the Baghdad School Committee, Prof. Kramer described the activities of the School. It was reported that the joint 1955-56 Nippur excavations of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago and the Baghdad School was staffed by the Director, Carl Haines of the Oriental Institute, Prof. Goetze (who was also the Annual Professor) and by Dr. Vaughn Crawford, Fellow of the Baghdad School. The work produced highly significant and even dramatic results.

Attention was also called to the first news-letter and the reports of the new Director of the Baghdad School, Dr. Vaughn Crawford, concerning the joint Iraq Surface Survey which began in October. The purpose of the survey is to discover the pattern of the ancient Mesopotamian irrigation system, by locating as many as possible of the cities, towns and villages located along the old canals. A by-product of this search will be mapping a large number of new archaeological sites which are still unmarked on even the most detailed antiquity maps. Prof. Kramer reported on the methods used in making the survey and stated that the team visited 557 mounds during the first 38 days it was in the field, for a *per diem* rate of slightly less than 15; of these, 25 are early *tells*, that is *tells* dating to the so-called Obeid-Early Dynastic period.

The Chairman of the Baghdad School Committee recommended in behalf of the Committee that approval be given to the continuation of the excavation at Nippur jointly with the Oriental Institute for at least one more year. Carl Haines will go out again as Director. The work will concentrate primarily on two areas, the Temple of Inanna, and the so-called North Temple. It was voted to approve the joint excavations at Nippur as proposed by the Baghdad Committee. It was voted to approve the appointment of George Dales as a Fellow of the Baghdad School, to serve as a member of the joint Nippur Expedition Staff. Prof. Kramer concluded his report by reading a letter from Vaughn Crawford regarding recent field work in Iraq.

Reporting for the Special Committee on the Excavation at Nimrud Dagh, the Chairman, Prof. Brown, indicated that the expedition last summer went along smoothly and met the objectives set for it by completing the photographic and graphic record of the archaeological remains at the site. Prof. Albright supplemented the report by saying that he had talked with Miss Goell and Prof. Young, as well as with Prof. Doerner and Mr. Wright, who were all gratified with the results.

Prof. Albright, reporting in behalf of the Committee on Publications, stated that the various publications of the Schools have appeared regularly even while several editors were out of the country.

Mr. Reynolds reported on the proceedings regarding the Nies Will, indicating that the Trustees of the estate may be able to make future investments so as to provide a higher rate of income. It was voted to accept the report.

Prof. Kraeling, reporting in behalf of the Nominating Committee, presented the following slate of officers, who were duly elected:

President, A. Henry Detweiler
First Vice-President, W. F. Albright
Second Vice-President, E. A. Speiser
Secretary, Frank E. Brown
Treasurer, John W. Warrington

Assistant Treasurer, The Provident Trust Company
Associate Trustee, Fred V. Winnett, 1957-59
Member of Executive Committee, W. F. Albright, 1957-59
Business Manager, G. R. Walton
Counsel, Pepper, Bodine, Frick, Scheetz and Hamilton

It was voted to express appreciation to Mr. Rabinowitz for providing an excellent lunch and quarters for the meeting of the Trustees.

It was voted to hold the next meeting of the Trustees on Saturday, March 30, 1957 in New York City, the hour and place to be determined by the President. The meeting was adjourned at 4:00 p. m.

WILLIAM L. REED,
Assistant Secretary

ANNUAL MEETING OF THE CORPORATION

The Annual Meeting of the Corporation of the American Schools of Oriental Research was held at Union Theological Seminary in New York on Wednesday, December 26, 1956 at 8 P. M. There were fifty-six institutions represented, in person or by proxy. President Detweiler presided and offered for approval the minutes of the last meeting, which had been distributed in mimeographed form and also printed in BULLETIN No. 141. In connection with the Annual Reports of the President, the Director of the Baghdad School and the Director of the Jerusalem School, which were accepted, Prof. Detweiler gave a brief report on present conditions in Jerusalem.

Professor Richardson, Annual Professor at Jerusalem for 1956-57, gave a graphic report of "evacuation day" (from the School to Beirut). He spoke of the good relations between various officials and scholars and the personnel of the School, and of possibilities for future cooperation.

Professor Gehman of the Evaluation Committee gave a complete and detailed report on the Trustees' meeting and on the work of both Schools during the past year.

Prof. Richardson reported on the Committee on Educational and Teaching Materials. Both of these reports were accepted with appreciation for the work involved.

The Nominating Committee, under the chairmanship of Prof. Muilenburg, presented the following in nomination:

Trustees: Warrington, Phelps, Glueck, Detweiler
Associate Trustees: Mgr. Skehan and H. L. Ginsberg
As member of Evaluation Committee: Ferris J. Stephens
Nominating Committee: Dean Anderson, Hanfmann, Jeffery, Pres. Whittaker (Jeffery, Chairman)

The nominations were approved and accepted.

Prof. Detweiler spoke of the difficulties which the staffs at both Schools face under present conditions. He also spoke of the cooperation shown by the American University at Beirut when the School personnel stayed there while waiting to return to Jerusalem.

The meeting adjourned at 9:15.

GLADYS R. WALTON,
Business Manager.

ANNUAL FINANCIAL REPORT OF THE AMERICAN SCHOOLS OF ORIENTAL RESEARCH

FOR THE YEAR ENDING JUNE 30, 1956

INCOME

Income from Investments		
General Endowment	$18,704.05	
Ludlow Bull Fund	52.50	
Henry Thatcher Fowler Memorial	28.45	
Helen M. Moulton Memorial	284.51	
Edward T. Newell Fund	284.51	
Edward Robinson Fund	1,065.33	
Ann E. Stodder Fund	199.16	
Jastrow Memorial	35.00	
John P. Peters Memorial	12.50	
A. R. Schofield Memorial	12.50	
Reserve for Research Fund	6.25	
Felix M. Warburg Reserve	272.50	
J. B. Nies Reserve	Capitalized	
Prudential Reserve	Capitalized	$ 20,957.26
Contributions, etc.		
Corporation Dues	9,200.00	
Memberships	435.00	
Associate Memberships	3,052.55	
Patrons Contributions	600.00	4,087.55
Special Contributions		
Rabinowitz Fellowship		2,200.00
Income from Sale of Publications		
Annual	1,458.10	
Biblical Archaeologist	4,016.60	
Bulletin and Supplementary Studies	2,841.10	
Journal Cuneiform Studies	1,097.40	
Other Publications	1,004.03	
Dead Sea Scrolls	1,062.74	
Trade Publications	3,167.26	14,647.23
Appropriations from Reserve		
J. B. Nies Reserve for Baghdad School		15,500.00
Total of Budget Items		66,592.04
Items Not Budgeted		
Income from Nies Estate for Publications	134.29	
Contributions:		
Bollingen Foundation (Nimrud Dagh)	12,500.00	
Catholic Biblical Association (Dhiban)	1,000.00	
Louis Rabinowitz (for Bulletin)	245.00	
Sundry for General Use	492.80	
Slide Rentals	29.65	
Miscellaneous Income	77.07	14,478.81
Total Receipts		$ 81.070.85

EXPENDITURES

Jerusalem School			
Director's Salary		$ 4,300.00	
Annual Professor's Stipend		2,800.00	
Annual Professor's Travel Allowance		1,100.00	
Fellowships		1,620.00	
Fellowship Travel Allowance		2,200.00	
Rabinowitz Fellowship		2,200.00	
Insurance		614.00	
Prudential Reserve Contributions		100.00	
Operation of School:			
Paid by Treasurer	$ 330.43		
Paid in Jerusalem	13,487.49		
	$13,817.92		
Received in Jerusalem	$11,319.75	2,498.17	
Archaeological Work:			
Paid in Jerusalem	$ 3,334.10		
Received in Jerusalem	669.00	2,665.10	20,097.27
Baghdad School Account			
Joint Nippur Expedition		15,000.00	
Cost of Surveys	$500.00		
Refunded	441.60	58.40	
		15,058.40	
Journal of Cuneiform Studies (Received from General Funds)		2,968.34	
Travel Expense		23.00	18,049.74
Publications			
Annual		3,909.27	
Bulletin		3,100.76	
Biblical Archaeologist		3,131.88	10,141.91
Business Office			
Manager's Salary		3,529.92	
Clerical Help		2,514.96	
Part Time Help		314.10	
Supplies and Printing		1,110.80	
Telephone and Telegraph		81.55	
Postage and Express		1,531.40	9,082.73
Miscellaneous Expenses			
Bank Charges (New Haven)		76.83	
Cost to Acquire Travelers Checks		24.68	
Insurance at New Haven		28.00	
Audit Expense At New Haven		25.00	
Trustees Meeting Cost		7.86	
Legal Cost (Nies Estate)		50.00	
Christmas Gratuities		15.00	
Printing Checks		78.78	
Small General Expenses		6.60	312.75
Administration			
Assistant Treasurer's Fee		2,100.00	
Officers' Travel Expense		833.17	

Secretarial Work	999.96	
Postage and Telephone	229.83	
Audit Fee (Phila.)	75.00	
Contingent Fund	140.00	4,377.96
Total of Budgeted Items		62,062.36
Items Not Budgeted		
Automobile Purchased Inc. Shipping	2,288.75	
Appropriation (Nimrud Dagh Project)	12,500.00	
Trade Publications	2,043.94	
Other Publications	4,120.74	
Employer's share, Social Security Cost	309.90	21,263.33
Total Expenditures		$ 83,325.69
ASSETS		
Cash		
For Current Use—Philadelphia	$ 3,544.60	
New Haven, etc.	8,907.98	
Jerusalem	4,293.49	
Awaiting Investment	160.18	
Held in Reserve	4,411.77	$ 21,318.02
Investments (Market Value [6/30/56] $586,461.33)		438,870.09
Furnishing and Equipment		4,601.46
Buildings in Jerusalem		69,432.00
Real Estate in Jerusalem		27,181.93
Accounts Receivable		110.11
Advance Payments on 1956-57 Budget		8,890.00
		$570,403.61
LIABILITIES		
Advance Receipts on Corporation Dues 1956-57		$ 100.00
Withheld Taxes Due Director of Internal Revenue		118.56
Principal of J. B. Nies Building Fund		52,666.63
Principal of Endowment Funds		395,933.55
Principal of Reserve Funds:		
J. B. Nies (For Baghdad School)	$25,020.84	
Reserve for Research	8,938.90	
Felix M. Warburg Fund	12,203.75	
Prudential Reserve Fund	1,345.00	47,508.49
General Corporate Fund		74,076.38
		$570,403.61

We have examined the Financial Statement of Assets and Liabilities of the American Schools of Oriental Research at June 30, 1956, and the related Statements of General Income and General Expenses for the year then ended. At the New Haven, Connecticut, office and at Jerusalem, independent auditors reviewed the financial status of each operation as of the dates of these reports, which were accepted by us without further verification. Subject to the correctness of the other auditors' reports, in our opinion, the report prepared by the Provident Trust Company of Philadelphia properly reflects the financial condition of the American Schools of Oriental Research at June 30, 1956, and the results of operations for the year ended.

WHEELER, CROSBIE, SEILER AND COMPANY
Certified Public Accountants
121 South Broad Street
Philadelphia 7, Pennsylvania

MEMBERS AND CONTRIBUTORS

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THE FIFTH SEASON OF EXPLORATION IN THE NEGEB

NELSON GLUECK

The fifth season of the archaeological exploration of the Negeb of Israel under the auspices of the Louis M. Rabinowitz Foundation, from the middle of July to the middle of September 1956, raised the total of sites newly discovered there by our expedition to more than 350. The very existence of nearly all of them had previously been neither known nor even suspected. The historical map of the Negeb can never again appear as an almost complete blank.[1]

[1] For condensed reports of the first four seasons in 1952, 1953, 1954, 1955, cf. BULLETIN, Nos. 131, pp. 6-15; 137, pp. 10-22; 138, pp. 7-29; 142, pp. 17-35; *Biblical* Archaeologist XVIII:1, pp. 2-9. Numbers in parentheses represent site numbers on maps to be published in an *Annual*. Unless otherwise specified, all the photographs of the fifth season, as of the previous ones, were taken by Mr. Benno Rothenberg for the Louis M. Rabinowitz Archaeological Expedition in the Negeb.

Again, this season, numerous prehistoric settlements were found, located on the sides of *wadis* where water can be found by digging long after the rare seasonal rainfall, on hilltops and slopes in the vicinity of springs, and on other locations near which pools of water may last for several months after the infrequent rains. A very extensive prehistoric

FIG. 1. Prehistoric flint tools collected at site 296 in the Negeb.

flint-tool site was discovered somewhat less than two km. NW-WNW of the Nabataean-Byzantine hill-city of 'Abdeh, to be listed as site 296 on our archaeological map, located at coördinate 126.9-024.3. It is one of the largest flint-tool sites in the ancient East, with tens of thousands of complete and broken flint tools scattered over many acres of the high, rolling broken country commanding a view directly over the hill of 'Abdeh. With them were innumerable flint cores and flakes as well as stone implements with which the flint tools were made [Fig. 1]. This

site belonged to the Upper Paleolithic period. There were others in the vicinity that could be assigned to the Mesolithic period, and still others to the Neolithic. The number of prehistoric flint tool sites we discovered around Bîr Birein,[2] and between it and Bîr Ḥafîr,[3] in addition to those that we had previously found, is very large. A detailed report will be given in a forthcoming *Annual*.

A particularly interesting result of this season's explorations is the discovery of some Chalcolithic settlements in the northern Negeb. We have now found them as far south as on a line between Tell Rekhmeh (83a) [4] and Kurnub (Mampsis). One of the most important of these newly discovered sites is Khirbet Samrā (325), at coördinate 163.5-071.4. It is south of the ancient and modern track which leads from Beersheba

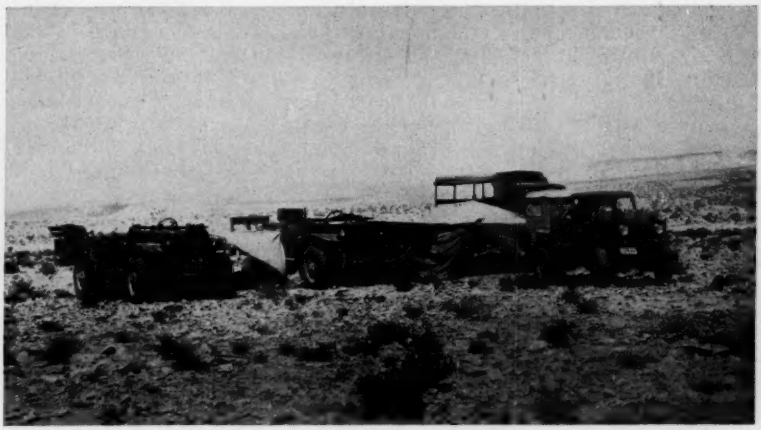

FIG. 2. Overnight camp of the L. M. Rabinowitz Foundation archaeological expedition in the Negeb.

past Tell 'Arâd to Râs Zuweirah and then down to the south end of the Dead Sea and across the Wâdī 'Arabah to Edom; it is about 5.5 km. SSW of Tell 'Arâd (288). It is already marked on the maps as a *khirbeh* (ancient ruin), which is more than can be said for hundreds of ancient sites now proved to have existed in the Negeb.

Khirbet Samrā is located on two long and gentle slopes opposite each other leading down to a small, very shallow, anciently terraced *wâdī*. The terraces are probably no earlier than Roman-Byzantine in origin, and may probably be related to the foundation ruins of large buildings which can be seen near the top of the west slope. Sherds of those periods were found. Otherwise, with the exception of some rude burial circles and small *rujûm*, there are no building remains visible on the surface.

[2] BULLETIN 138, pp. 20.21.
[3] BULLETIN 138, pp. 21.22; 142, pp. 25.27.
[4] BULLETIN 138, p. 7.

The extensive site has been ploughed for many centuries. At the time of our visit,[5] camels and donkeys in the unequal yoke forbidden by the Bible were treading piles of grain grown near by on a threshing floor which was once a part of the ancient town.

On the sides and terraced bed of the *wâdī* and particularly along the lower parts of the slopes above it were found very large numbers of Middle to Late Chalcolithic sherds, in addition to small quantities of Roman-Byzantine ware. Numerous fragments of pottery belonged to a common *pithos* type, with everted rim, thick walls, pierced ear-handles and flat base. There were also sherds belonging to large and middle-sized hole-mouth jars, and to miscellaneous bowls, some comparatively delicate with thin walls and rims. Many of the vessels were decorated, some with variegated bands and blotches of reddish-brown paint. There were numerous bowl-rims with bands of paint just below the edge of the rim on both inner and outer surfaces. Paint was also applied to the necks and shoulders of jars, and frequently to lugs and pierced ear-handles. The prevailing type of handles seemed to be tiny pierced lug-handles, small ear-handles perforated with a round stick, and large, roughly triangular, vertical ear-handles through which a hole was struck. Several broken ledge-handles were found, and one intact example, slightly notched on the outer edge; they seem to be Late Chalcolithic in date. Most sherds, however, seem to be Middle Chalcolithic.

We found equally large masses of Middle to Late Chalcolithic pot-sherds on the lower slopes of Tell 'Arâd (288), at coördinate 162.1-076.65, at the east end of the comparatively fertile lands of the northern Negeb. There were also masses of Iron II and later sherds on this imposing mound, already mentioned by others. We also found some Chalcolithic sherds this season at Tell el-Milḥ (28), at Khirbet el-Mishâsh (27) and at Khirbet el-Medhbeḥ (209).[6] About two and a half km. ESE of Khirbet Medhbeḥ, we came across another large, dominantly Chalcolithic site (308), at coördinate 147.8-064.65. It is a very large, completely destroyed site, overlooking from the west the Wâdī 'Ar'areh, which obviously contains a good deal of underground water fairly close to the surface. The entire site is ploughed over, but on its slopes we found masses of flint tools, broken querns, and sherds, most of which were Middle or Late Chalcolithic, with some Middle Bronze I sherds and numerous Roman-Byzantine fragments. Among the Chalcolithic sherds was a cornet base, closely related to the type familiar from Teleilât Ghassûl.[7] We have found some Chalcolithic sherds, including coarse pierced ear-handles, as far south as on a line between Tell Rekhmeh and Kurnub, namely at site 310, coördinate 147.5-044.9, and at site 307, coördinate 149.2-044.4.[8] Numerous M. B. I sherds were found at both of these sites too. There was a very large M. B. I settlement at sites 311, 311a and 311b, coördinates 153.9-052.8, 154.1-052.7, 154.2-053.1, and a small M. B. I settlement at site 305, coördinate 150.4-046.2

[5] August 21, 1956.
[6] Cf. BULLETIN 142, pp. 29-30.
[7] Cf. TG I, Pl. 47.48; II, Pl. 95.
[8] Cf. BULLETIN 137, p. 22, Pl. 5:15.16.12.14.

Sufficient quantities of Chalcolithic pottery were found at Tell 'Arâd (288), Khirbet Samrā (325) and site 308, in addition to smaller amounts found at other sites as far south as the Kurnub area, to make it seem reasonable to expect Chalcolithic settlements still farther south in the Negeb. The exact location of Chalcolithic and/or Bronze Age pottery reported by the late P. L. O. Guy at Kurnub has never been reported.[9] The existence of a whole belt of Chalcolithic settlements in the Negeb east of Beersheba is now as certain as that previously known to have existed west of it toward the Mediterranean,[10] both above and below the Wâdī Ghazzah,[11] whose easternmost beginnings commence on the western slopes of the Tell 'Arâd watershed.

The Chalcolithic pottery of Khirbet Samrā, Tell 'Arâd and site 308 is at once related to and different from that discovered in Jean Perrot's brilliantly conducted excavation of the remarkable underground hamlet of Tell Abū Maṭâr [12] or that discovered years ago by Mallon and Koeppel in the important excavation of Teleilāt Ghassûl.[13] More important than the apparent differences in the Chalcolithic wares of these various settlements are their similarities, which tie them together and connect them with others of the same period known to have existed on the Coastal Plain, in the Shephelah, on the slopes of the Judaean mountains, in Samaria, the Esdraelon Valley, Galilee, the Jordan valley and in suitable hill-country east of the Jordan.[14]

While some additional evidence of extremely limited Early Bronze settlement in the Negeb [15] was discovered, it is clear that the next main period of sedentary occupation in the Negeb was in Middle Bronze I, which covered practically all the cultivable area of the Negeb. In addition to the M. B. I sites in the Negeb previously discovered by our expedition, some of which have been mentioned in various reports in the BULLETIN, about 30 more were found during the 1956 season.

A Middle Bronze I site has now been discovered at Kadesh-barnea, on the top and slopes of Jebel el-'Ain, immediately above the Iron II fortress first discovered there by Woolley and Lawrence.[16] It was found by our expedition's photographer, Benno Rothenberg, who utilized the opportunity afforded by the temporary occupation of Sinai by the Israeli army to visit Sinai and particularly Wâdī Qudeirât. In the course of five years with our expeditions, he has learned to recognize M. B. I sherds and the writer is confident that his report is correct. Whether or not sherds earlier than M. B. I were found remains to be seen, but there is no question in the writer's mind that the M. B. I site which we had expected

[9] Cf. Kirk, PEQ 1938, p. 219; Perrot, *Israel Exploration Journal* V:3, 1955, p. 177, n. 32.

[10] Cf. Perrot, IEJ V:3, 1955, pp. 177-180; Macdonald, *Beth-Pelet*, II.

[11] Cf. BULLETIN 138, p. 14.

[12] IEJ V, 1955, pp. 17-40.73-84.167-188; Contenson, IEJ VI:3, 1956, pp. 163-179.

[13] Mallon, Koeppel, Neuville: *Teleilāt Ghassûl*, I-II.

[14] Cf. Glueck, *Annual* XXV-XXVIII, I, p. 75, n. 163: II, pp. 473-475; de Vaux, RB LVIII, 1951, pp. 567.571-572.574-576.581-583; Perrot, IEJ V:3, 1955, pp. 181, n. 44; 182.183.

[15] Cf. BULLETIN 138, p. 11.

[16] Cf. BULLETIN 138, pp. 21-22; 142, p. 21; *Annual* XV, pp. 118-119; PEFA III, p. 65.

there, has now been located.[17] Years ago one of Sir Flinders Petrie's assistants brought the writer some M. B. I sherds, which he said he had picked up in the vicinity of the Iron Age fortress in Wâdī Qudeirât. It turns out now that he was right.

Various other M. B. I and Iron II sites have also been discovered

FIG. 3. Middle Bronze I stone circle at site 303 in the Negeb.

recently in the Sinai peninsula, as reported by M. Dothan, deputy director of the Israeli Department of Antiquities. An expedition headed by him undertook some soundings at the Iron II fortress in the Wâdī Qudeirât. The newspaper account mentioning his discoveries reports[18] that "a five kilometer long wall . . . surrounding the *wadi* of Kadesh-

[17] Cf. Benno Rothenberg, *A Visit to Kadesh-barnea*, in *La-Merḥav* (Hebrew), 12/7/56, p. 4.

[18] *Jerusalem Post*, 12/7/56, p. 2.

barnea, may have been built together with the fortress, and probably aimed at preventing nomads from making inroads on the fertile valley." This writer thinks that this wall cannot be earlier than the Nabataean period like many others of related or smaller size in the Negeb, which completely enclosed whole sections of *wadis*, whose beds were then divided into rectangular, cultivable areas by a long series of spaced level terrace walls. These walls prevent soil erosion and force water to sink into the soil. Other walls diverted some of the water into cisterns along the sides of the *wadis*.[19] The walls above and parallel with the *wadi*-beds prevented erosion from the slopes above them.

During the 1956 season we found a number of M. B. I sites in the vicinity of the great hill-town of 'Abdeh. Its heyday extended from the Nabataean through the Byzantine period, although pre-Nabataean remains may also be found there.[20] We have not yet adequately searched the entire area of the very extensive site of 'Abdeh, and should not be surprised to find both M. B. I and Iron II remains there. Less than three km. WNW of 'Abdeh is a large M. B. I site (303), at coördinate 125.5-024.5, on a long gentle slope open to the east [Fig. 3]. There we found numerous flints, some of which belonged to Upper Palaeolithic. In addition to large numbers of typical M. B. I sherds there were numerous others extending from Nabataean through Byzantine times. Very close to it is another M. B. I site (301), at coördinate 125-024.4, which may possibly be regarded as its extension. There were also Iron II sherds, as well as Nabataean through Byzantine pieces. Still another M. B. I site in this area is site 297 at coördinate 126.4-024.4 [Fig. 4]. There were numerous Nabataean and later inscriptions and rock-drawings at this and other sites in the vicinity, including, for instance, site 302 at coördinate 125-024.3.[21] Another M. B. I site well to the SSE of 'Abdeh, is No. 349 at coördinate 127.3-010. We had found numerous others previously in this area along the Wâdî Nefkh.[22]

That the fertility of the region for miles round about the great Nabataean center of 'Abdeh was intensively exploited for centuries by the Nabataeans and their Byzantine successors is shown not only by the large number of sites of these periods which we have discovered there, but also by the astonishing number of solid terraces, dams, and large cisterns, some of them still water-tight to this very day. The manner in which the Nabataeans exploited the full possibilities of the entire length of the Wâdī Ramlîyeh,[23] with an elaborate system of water and soil conservation is in itself eloquent testimony to the industry and ingenuity of their civilization.

That the 'Abdeh and other regions in the Negeb supported so many agricultural settlements of Middle Bronze I, which flourished roughly 2000 years before the pinnacle of Nabataean achievement was reached, is all the more surprising in view of the fact that the art of digging and

[19] Cf. BULLETIN 138, pp. 26.23, Fig. 4; 142, p. 26.

[20] Cf. Woolley and Lawrence, *The Wilderness of Zin*, pp. 109-122.158-159; Albright, *Archaeology of Palestine*, pp. 44-45; Abel, *Géographie de la Palestine* I, pp. 65-66; Glueck, BULLETIN 142, p. 23, n. 16.

[21] Cf. BULLETIN 142, pp. 27-32.

[22] Cf. BULLETIN 138, pp. 24-27.

[23] Cf. BULLETIN 138, pp. 23.25.

plastering water-tight cisterns in order to catch and store large supplies of water had not yet developed. Middle Bronze I agricultural civilization in the Negeb depended, of course, on cultivable soil, of which there is a comparative sufficiency, for instance, in the 'Abdeh region; it depended equally, however, on springs and wells, which could easily be secured by

FIG. 4. Site 297 Nabataean rock drawing of camel.

digging into *wâdī*-beds and finding sub-surface water,[24] as well as on the occasional winter and spring rains,[25] which were collected in natural hollows.

The principle that ancient settlements are always found in the vicinity of unfailing sources of water, is nowhere better illustrated in the Negeb than in the *wâdī*-ribbed and partly hill-buckled lands which extend from the Wâdī 'Aujā [26] to the Wâdī Ḥafīr,[27] and continue into Sinai. In them are the wells of Bîr Bîrein,[28] Bîr Reseisîyeh,[29] Bîr Ḥafir,[30] Bîr Miṭnân,[31]

[24] Cf. BULLETIN 131, pp. 9-10; 138, p. 17; OSJ, pp. 8.10; II Kings 3:16.17.
[25] Cf. *Annual* XXV-XXVIII, p. 33, Fig. 23; p. 35,, Fig. 24; BULLETIN 142, p. 31, n. 35.
[26] Cf. BULLETIN 138, pp. 18.20.21.
[27] Cf. BULLETIN 138, pp. 18.21.
[28] Cf. BULLETIN 138, p. 20.
[29] Cf. BULLETIN 138, pp. 18.21.19.
[30] Cf. BULLETIN 138, pp. 18.21.22.
[31] Cf. BULLETIN 138, pp. 22.23.

and the powerful spring of 'Ain el-Qudeirât (Kadesh-barnea).[32] The fertility of the soil and the comparative wealth of water heighten the geographical importance of this area. Major highways, topographically fixed along unchanging lines, lead through it, linking Jordan and Israel to Egypt.

So many sites of the 21st-19th centuries B. C., as well of the Judaean and Nabataean kingdoms and of the Roman and Byzantine empires, were found in this region by our expedition, that it must be considered one of the most intensively settled sections of the ancient Negeb. Especially numerous are Middle Bronze I sites in the area extending for kilometers around Bîr Bîrein (164). Among others,[33] the hill site (329), immediately ENE of the wells of Bîr Bîrein, shows occupancy in this period.

One of the largest of these Middle Bronze I sites (339), at coördinate 099.4-017.7, is located about four km. south of the wells of Bîr Bîrein. It climbs the slopes of a horseshoe bend of hills, just this side of the modern boundary of Sinai. Below it, from east to north, stretch fertile lands. The position of Bîr Bîrein is visible from it. This range of hills overlooks to the southwest the descent to Wâdī Ṣabḥah, beyond which rises the jagged range of the Jebel edh-Dhîsheh, only a few km. north of 'Ain el-Qudeirât (Kadesh-barnea). The inhabitants of this site 339 may also have cultivated some of the lands in the Wâdī Ṣabḥah to the southwest. We could not examine the total extent of the site because it reached in part into the forbidden no-man's land between the Israeli and Egyptian borders. There were numerous and widely scattered ruins of typical Middle Bronze I houses, roughly oval or rectangular in shape, with fireplaces inside and with walled courtyards attached to the houses. Numerous M. B. I sherds were found in addition to some of Roman and Byzantine vintage and some excellent prehistoric flints, which abound in the entire region.

The intensiveness of agricultural occupation during M. B. I in the apparently rich plain round about Bîr Bîrein is perhaps best shown by our discovery of the largest site of this period that we have thus far come across in our archaeological exploration of the Negeb. This site (345), at coördinate 102.5-022.1, tops a very low and long rise immediately above the west side of the Wâdī Ḥafîr (Nitsanah), whose comparatively broad, whitish bed weaves below it from northwest to east-southeast and then southeast. Bîr Bîrein is about four km. from it to the west and west-southwest. This tremendous site, oriented generally NW-WNW by SE-ESE, is almost a km. long and over two hundred meters wide. It makes the appearance of a real city, which indeed for its time it must have been, however modest it may appear by modern standards.

That the Negeb was a veritable hub of trade and settlement is strik-

[32] Cf. BULLETIN 138, pp. 21-23.

[33] An idea of the large concentration of M. B. I sites (some of them very small, to be sure) may be gained from the following list, on which we shall report in detail in a forthcoming *Annual*: Site 330B, coördinate 100.9-023.3; 330A, 099.8-023.5; 330, 098.9-0.23.5; 331, 100.5-020.9; 331a, 099.8-018.9; 334, 102-023.1; 337, 099.4-021.2; 339, 099.4-017.6; 340, 099.8-019.9; 343, 102.3-013.5.

ingly illustrated by our discovery of a very large, strongly walled site (346), at coördinate 104.6-017.5, located approximately midway between Bîr Bîrein (164) and Bîr Ḥafîr (171a). About a km. NW of it is the junction of the Wâdī Ḥafîr and the Wâdī Ḥoreishah. Cultivable lands border them and water can be secured by digging shallow holes in their beds. The uneven table-top of this fairly steep site is oriented NW by SE and measures about 500 by 200 meters. This is thus an unusually large site, completely surrounded by a well-made dry stone wall, approximately a meter high and 80 cm. wide. There are five gaps or entrances in this wall, which could have been blocked against animals but not easily against men. It also seems unlikely that the huge enclosure was employed for domesticated animals, since no shepherd would have led his charges to the top of such a high hill for nightly guarding. Aside from the remaining outlines of some very large stone circles and some smaller ones within the enclosed area, there were no building remains whatsoever. The only constructions of any kind are numerous unobtrusive burial circles and cairns. Others are located on the slopes of the hill. On the west slope, in particular, we found what seem to be burials of the M. B. I, to judge from the sherds found near them. When we scratched the surface of some of the outlines of burial places on top of the hill, we turned up almost complete vessels of various periods. Fairly intact Iron II vessels were found. Roman and Byzantine pottery was also exposed. It was clear that methodical digging would uncover masses of pottery of widely separated periods. About 2.5 km. to the ESE of it, perched on a ridge overlooking the Wâdī Ḥafîr, is a small, strongly built, 13-meter square, Iron II watch-tower (344), at coördinate 107.1-016.7.[34]

We have reluctantly come to the conclusion that the walled hilltop of site 346 was an ancient necropolis, utilized in the main periods of sedentary settlement and travel in the Negeb from M. B. I times on. It may have been utilized as a sacred burial ground also by the stream of caravans passing through the Negeb to and from Sinai via Kadesh-barnea. We doubt, however, whether the enclosing wall antedates the Nabataean-Roman period. It may possibly have served to secure the top soil of the site from the eroding effects of the occasional winter rains, and may also have accentuated the continuing importance and sanctity with which tradition had invested this place.

One of the most outstanding facts which has emerged from the five successive seasons of our archaeological explorations of the Negeb is that it contained an amazingly large number of Middle Bronze I communities of various sizes, living for all or part of the year, as the case might be, in crude stone houses, whose economy was based upon agriculture and animal husbandry and to some extent upon trade. There is no question that dozens of additional M. B. I sites can be found in the Negeb, all easily identified by unmistakable M. B. I pottery on the surface. This pottery is indistinguishable from that employed, for instance, elsewhere throughout Canaan and Transjordan. The M. B. I settlements

[34] For other Iron II sites in the vicinity, cf. BULLETIN 142, p. 21.

in the Negeb seem to have flourished in a long period of peace, since none of them was fortified.

The next period of permanent settlement in the Negeb, marked by stone buildings and pottery, was during Iron II. There were some open villages there then, but, generally speaking, stout fortresses were the rule rather than the exception. They were mostly located in strategic positions on abrupt hills which could be easily defended and which guarded cultivable lands and routes of travel. Outstanding among them were the massive strongholds of Khirbet el-Gharrah (299), at coördinate

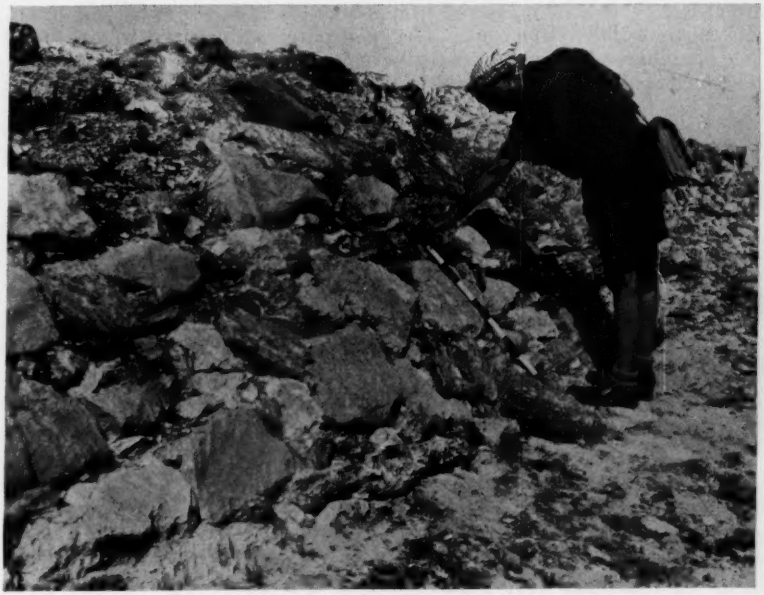

FIG. 5. Khirbet Gharrah showing glacis.

148.65-071.25 [Fig. 5], and Khirbet Ghazza (326), at coördinate 165.7-068.6. Each was further protected by a smaller supporting fortress nearby. They were king-pins in the patterns of Iron II settlements and fortified places east of Beersheba, which included such places as Khirbet el-Mishâsh, Khirbet 'Ar'arah, Tell el-Milḥ and Tell 'Arâd. We first came across the two strongholds in the summer of 1956,[35] but learned that they had been visited several months earlier and correctly dated by that most excellent archaeologist, Yoḥanan Aharoni of the Hebrew University.[36]

[35] July 25 and August 1, 1956.

[36] Cf. Yoḥanan Aharoni, *Discoveries on the Road to Edom*, in the Hebrew newspaper, *Masa*, p. 2, July 6, 1956.

Built on the southernmost hill of a range extending from the mountains of Judah, Khirbet el-Gharrah commands a magnificent view over much of the northernmost Negeb. In the plain below it, less than three km. to the southwest, is the predominantly Iron II site of Khirbet el-Meshâsh, and about four km. ESE-SE is the rise of Tell el-Milḥ, whose main period of occupation was likewise in Iron II. The massive wall around the hill-top of Khirbet el-Gharrah enclosed an area measuring about 300 × 80 meters. The narrow east end is covered with foundation ruins of numerous structures, many of which, however, may have been built or rebuilt in the Byzantine period. Several large cisterns are visible. There are masses of Iron II sherds and others extending from Hellenistic to Byzantine times. The great outer wall, against whose inner face chambers were built, was furthermore strengthened by a cyclopean revetment, which is still intact in some sections to a height of about

FIG. 6. Iron II site 306 in the Negeb.

two meters.[37] On a lower hilltop to the NE, immediately across the way from the hill of Khirbet el-Gharrah, is a subsidiary fortress guarding its NE flank. From the air it looks like the Iron II Moabite fortress of Khirbet er-Remeil.[38] We shall reserve for a forthcoming *Annual* discussion of Khirbet Ghazzah (326) and its subsidiary fortress, which guarded the approaches from the east end of the northern Negeb via the road leading up from the Wâdī 'Arabah and the south end of the Dead Sea.

A little more than six km. WSW of Kurnub and about eight and a half km. ENE of Tell er-Rekhmeh is a small Iron II fortress (306), at coördinate 150.6-046.8, located on a commanding hilltop [Fig. 6]. It looks something like a small version of Khirbet el-Gharrah (299); oriented NNW-SSE, it measures about 80 × 40 meters at its greatest dimensions. The foundations of rows of rooms built against the inner face of its surrounding wall are visible. The outer wall was strongly built of crude limestone blocks, whose corners were well bonded in

[37] Cf. Glueck, *Annual Report of the Smithsonian Institution*, 1941, p. 465, for glacis of Iron II site of Ezion-geber.
[38] Cf. *Annual* XVIII-XIX, pp. 120-123.

classical header and stretcher form.[39] There are the remains of a gateway on the west side near the south end, with a clearly banked roadway leading up to the remains of a tower-gate entrance. Large numbers of Iron II sherds of all kinds were found on the top and slopes of the site, including numerous pieces familiar to the writer from the excavation of Tell el-Kheleifeh. They belonged to a coarse hand-made type of Iron II ware that occurs frequently in some of the Iron II sites in the Wâdī 'Arabah and at Ezion-geber.[40] This is a type of pottery which the uninitiated might easily mistake for earlier ware.

This Iron Age II fortress not only served to guard the comparatively fertile lands stretching to the north and west of it, but was one of a chain of fortresses which guarded the strategic roads which led from the Wâdī 'Arabah to Kurnub and from Kurnub southwest to Kadesh-barnea or northwest to Beersheba. As a result of our explorations, we can trace these routes by means of Iron II and Middle Bronze I sites. Other and even more numerous sites replaced them in the Nabataean-Byzantine periods, frequently on new locations. Less than two km. W-WNW of site 306 is an open Iron II village at Râs Muḍeifī (304), at coördinate 148.9-047.1.

Another Iron II fortress (53), at coördinate 126.3-030.7, located on a commanding rise about 8.5 km. NNW-NW of 'Abdeh, may be listed among others previously mentioned in this area.[41] About ten km. SE-SSE of 'Abdeh is yet another Iron II fortress (314), at coördinate 131.6-012.7, situated on top of a high, completely isolated hill overlooking Wâdī Nefkh. Oriented E-W, this small fortress measures about 21 × 16 meters. A series of rooms is built against its walls around an inner courtyard. There seems to be an entrance on the north side near the west end. Numerous Iron II sherds were found, including some of the coarse type mentioned above. There were also some Roman and Byzantine sherds.

Many more Iron II fortresses, watch-towers, and open villages remain to be discovered in the Negeb, in addition to those we have listed in various reports in the BULLETIN. Some have been found in the Wâdī Ghabîb, between Isbeiṭā and 'Aujā Ḥafîr (Nitsana), one of them, which we have not yet been able to visit, being very large. Others were discovered in Sinai proper during December, 1956 and January, 1957.

We mention only one more, a very large Iron II fortress on top of a high hill commanding 'Ain Ghaḍyân, (316), at coördinate 153.8-922.1, overlooking the west side of the Wâdī 'Arabah [Fig. 7]. In previous visits we had not climbed to the top of this striking hill for one reason or another,[42] but we made up for it this time.[43] It was a rewarding visit. Occupying the southern part of the steep flat-topped hill were the very meager remains of a fortress, oriented NNW by SSE and measuring approximately 64 × 40 meters. Rows of rooms had originally occupied

[39] Cf. Glueck, OSJ, p. 100.
[40] Cf. Glueck, *The Excavation of Solomon's Seaport: Ezion-Geber*, in *Smithsonian Report for 1941*, p. 478.
[41] Cf. BULLETIN 142, p. 21.
[42] Cf. *Annual* XV, p. 41; XVIII-XIX, p. 9.
[43] August 9, 1956.

the sides of the structure, with those on the W and S more or less clear in outline. Numerous Iron II sherds were found after very careful search; they included the crude hand-made types characteristic of Iron II sites in the southern Negeb and the Wâdī 'Arabah. There were also numerous fragments of slag and copper ore, indicating that smelting or "roasting" operations had been carried on here as at Mene'îyeh and other sites in the Wâdī 'Arabah [44] [Fig. 8]. The top of the hill extends

FIG. 7. Iron II fortress at 'Ain Ghaḍyân in the Negeb.

approximately for another 100 meters northward, and in this part, particularly, we found large numbers of Hellenistic, Nabataean, and Byzantine sherds. The black-glazed Hellenistic sherds were exactly like some we had found on the surface and in the excavation of Tell el-Kheleifeh.[45] This site guarded the powerful spring of 'Ain Ghaḍyân, the rich fields in Wâdī 'Arabah below, the strategic highway which passed through Wâdī 'Arabah and the approaches to some of the most important of the mineral deposits there. It was one of a long series of Iron II fortresses spread throughout the Negeb and Wâdī 'Arabah, and

[44] Cf. *Annual* XV, pp. 42-47; OSJ, p. 93.
[45] Cf. *Annual Report of the Smithsonian Institution*, 1941, p. 476; OSJ, p. 112.

extending into Sinai. The highways to and from Eziongeber-Elath and Aela connected Beersheba, Kadesh-barnea, and Sela (Petra) with each other. The Negeb was dotted with towns, villages, and camp-sites in

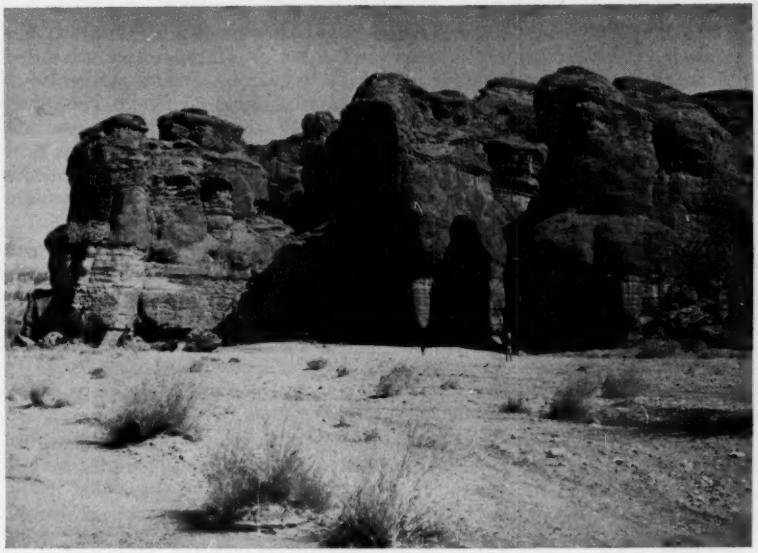

FIG. 8. "Solomon's pillars" at Mene'iyeh (Timnah), the site of one of the largest of King Solomon's ancient copper mines. Mining operations are going on there today.

widely separated historical periods, during which there were no major climatic changes. It was never a true desert, but was always a key part of the ancient Near East.

ON A DRASTIC CURRENT REDUCTION OF SOUTH-ARABIAN CHRONOLOGY

A. JAMME, W. F.

A Sabaean text recently published by G. Ryckmans as Ry 535 [1] was written by 'Ilšaraḥ Yaḥḍub and his brother Ya'zil Bayyin and records numerous victories won by these two kings of Saba' and Raydân. The historical commentary on the text comes from Miss J. Pirenne.[2] Identification of persons and historical interpretation are considered by these

[1] Cf. *Le Muséon*, 69 (1956), pp. 139-163 and pl. I.
[2] Cf. *l. c.*, pp. 165-181.

two authors as certain, and lead them to the conclusion that the period of the two above-mentioned Sabaean kings must be reduced by about 250 years. This compels me to anticipate the publication of the Mârib texts in order to indicate the epigraphical reasons why these drastic conclusions cannot be accepted.

The long Sabaean text published by G. Ryckmans comes from the entrance of the great temple Maḥram Bilqîs[3] near Mârib (Yemen) and was totally unknown to scholars generally before the latter's publication.[4] Such a large stone could not possibly have escaped the inquisitive eyes of all the travellers who passed through Mârib before the excavations conducted by *The American Foundation for the Study of Man*. It is thus obvious that this long text was discovered by this Foundation. Yet this important inscription is now published without notifying the Foundation,[5] and even without mentioning its name.

The two transliterations of G. Ryckmans' text, one in South-Arabian characters and the other in roman letters, contain many inaccuracies, some of which are attested in only one transliteration.[6] Some signs aiming to give an accurate description of the letters are given in the South-Arabian transliteration and not in the roman one, although the latter is supposed to reproduce the first.[7] Broken brackets used to indicate letters of doubtful reading, are sometimes mentioned and sometimes not, though the commentary requires them.[8]

The published decipherment is based on the three published photographs. Special enlargement of the printed photographs, powerful magni-

[3] G. Ryckmans still writes "Ḥarâm Bilqîs" (cf. *Ex Oriente Lux*, 14 [1955-1956], p. 80), in spite of the fact that I pointed out back in 1952 that the true name was "Maḥram Bilqîs" (cf. *Académie Royale de Belgique. Bulletin de la Classe des Lettres et des Sciences Morales et Politiques*, 5e série, 38 [1952], pp. 297-298; cf. also *Rivista degli Studi Orientali*, 30 [1955], p. 104, footnote 1). In the same article, G. Ryckmans says that the plan of the temple published in *BASOR*, No. 128, 1952, fig. I, p. 27, is from the hand of F. P. Albright (cf. *l. c.*, p. 80, footnote 40). But the name of the author of the plan is printed below the right end of the English title and reads as follows: "*John H. Scarff del.*," and two pages before, F. P. Albright states that "Mr. Scarff was able to take the measurements which made his plan of the temple possible."

[4] E. g., A. Fakhry visited Mârib in May 8-13, 1947; cf. his book, *An Archaeological Journey to Yemen (March–May, 1947)*, Cairo, I (1952), pp. 10-11.

[5] K. Y. Nâmî also published texts discovered by the American Foundation in Mârib without notifying the latter, but at least he mentions its work (cf. *Nuqûš 'arabiyat ğunûbiyat* [in Arabic],II, in *Maǧallat kulliyat al-adâb*, Cairo, 1955, pp. 21-43). Nâmî saw the stones themselves, but his decipherment needs much correction.

[6] In the South-Arabian text, read *'kbrt* (line 2) and *mlkn/'lšrḥ* (line 11) instead of *'krbt* and *mlk/'lšrḥ*; in the French text, read *ḥbšt* (line 3) and *'ḫyḍtm* (line 10) instead of *ḳbšt* and *'ḫyḍtm*.

[7] See *w⌜w⌝hbw* (line 2; compare p. 140 and p. 144), *b⌊ḥ⌋rm* (lines 1-2; compare p. 140 and p. 144), and *hgrn/⌋* (line 13; compare p. 143 and p. 146).

[8] Read thus *ḫs⌊s⌋tn* (line 2) instead of *ḫsstn* on pp. 140 and 144, *⌊q⌋šmm* (line 4) instead of *qšmm* on pp. 141 and 144, *⌊ybḥḍn⌋* (line 4) instead of *ybḥḍn* on pp. 141 and 144, *m⌊s⌋ln* (line 6) instead of *msln* on pp. 141 and 145, *⌊trgmn⌋* (line 6) instead of *trgmn* on pp. 141 and 145, *mšr⌊q⌋t* (line 7) instead of *mšrqt* on pp. 142 and 145, *q⌊š⌋mm* (line 7) instead of *qšmm* on pp. 142 and 145, *ng⌊f⌋rm* (line 10) instead of *ngfrm* on pp. 142 and 145, *⌊š⌋t'⌊d⌋* (line 10) instead of *⌊š⌋t'd* on pp. 142 and 145, *ls⌊b'⌋* (line 14) instead of *lsb'* on pp. 143 and 146, and finally *⌊mh.t.m⌋* (line 15) instead of *mh.⌊t⌋.m* on pp. 144 and 146.

fying glasses and especially much patience allowed me to check my own copy made from the stone itself, which I will publish as Jamme 576. I have first to mention a collection of minor errors: the reading of five words is certain in spite of the editor's doubts;[9] the carving of *rt*ʿ (line 9) does not present any anomaly, contrary to the comment on p. 156; the unexplained parentheses between *b* and *n* in *ḏbn* (line 9) must be suppressed; and finally, in ten other cases, the transliteration, sometimes explained in the commentary, does not reflect the original.[10] Besides the eighteen preceding minor mistakes, the decipherment is wrong in *sixty-nine* places where the correction ranges from one letter to several words, and which very often affects the meaning of the South-Arabian text. Three of these corrections sweep away the epigraphical basis for the drastic reduction of dates.

Before taking up these epigraphical points, I should like to stress the fact that neither of the authors gives any information as to which of them is responsible for the proposed identifications.

Miss Pirenne's basic opinion may be summarized as follows: *šmr/ḏrydn* (e.g., line 3) is identical with *šmr/yhrʿš*; *mrʾlqs* (line 2) and the northern 'Imru'lqays mentioned in the text of en-Nemâra are the same person; the Ethiopian king (line 11) is Wazeba, and consequently the two Sabaean kings 'Ilšaraḥ Yaḥḍub and his brother Ya'zil Bayyin must be dated in the early fourth century A.D. She claims that *šmr/ḏrydn* is to be identified with *šmr/yhrʿš/mlk/sbʾ/wḏrydn/bn/ysrm/yhnʿm* because of the palaeographic identity between, e.g., CIH 407 belonging to the latter with the other texts (e.g., the present inscription or CIH 314 + 954) belonging to the two kings 'Ilšaraḥ Yaḥḍub and Ya'zil Bayyin. This I cannot accept. First of all, palaeographical identity, even if actually attested, cannot possibly prove the identity of two persons with *different titles*. Besides, the palaeographical argument is without value.[11] CIH 407 is definitely not palaeographically identical with the present text; it is obvious that the letters of the first are more slender and thinner than those of the second. It is also very easy to see other differences. The oblique line of *k* in CIH 407 hits the upper part of a curve set on top of the left vertical lower stroke; in the present text, on the contrary, it hits the top of the latter stroke. The *ʃ* in CIH 407 is composed of a small lozenge on both the lower and upper edges of which a vertical line is added whose length almost equals the height of the lozenge itself; in the present text, the lozenge is at least three-quarters as high as the

[9] These terms are *ḫṣṣtn* (line 2), *qšmm* (lines 4 and 7), *ybḥḍn* (line 4), *mšrqt* (line 7) and *yʾdbḥmw* (line 10).

[10] Read *wwhbw* (line 2) instead of *w*⌈*w*⌉*hbw*, *ʾwṯqm* (line 2) instead of '[*w*]*ṯqm*, *ʾḫzb* (line 3) instead of '(*ḫ*)*zb* [on p. 154, the commentary on the engraving of this word is erroneous], *ḏt* (line 6) instead of *ḏ*]*t*, */w* (end of line 6) instead of [*/w*, *mqdmthm* (line 9) *w* instead of *mqdmthm* (line 9) *w*], *ḥ*[*g*] (line 10) *rn* instead of *ḥg* (line 10) *rn*, *ḏ*(ʾ)*sm* (line 13) instead of *ḏʾsm* [the *w* instead of ʾ is certain on the stone], *ʾdy/ḏḥmlhmw* (line 16) instead of *ʾd*(*y*/*ḏ*)*ḥmlhmw* [on p. 163, G. Ryckmans says that the *y* and the word divider are inverted on the stone; this is wrong and does not justify the insertion of *ḏ* inside the parentheses], and finally *ḏrḏ* (end of line 16) *n*/.. (beginning of line 1 of the second stone) instead of *ḏr*[*ydn*.

[11] See a similar case in my forthcoming article "Note on the Dating of the Bronze Horse of the Dumbarton Oaks Collection in Washington" (to be published).

entire letter. The central strokes of *ḏ* in CIH 407 lean to the left, but they are horizontal in the present text. The central part of both *r* and *š* in CIH 407 is angular, but rounded in the present text. The palaeography of CIH 314 + 954, except *f*, is very close to that of the present inscription. There is thus no palaeographical identity with the texts of *šmr yhr'š*. Besides, all these inscriptions belong to the same general palaeographic type whose characteristics first appear under *fr'm/ynhb/mlk/sb'* (e.g. Jamme 566), develop under *'lšrḥ/yḥḍb/mlk/sb'/wḏrydn* (e.g., Jamme 569) and continue under *'lšrḥ/yḥḍb/w'ḥyhw/y'zl/byn/mlky/sb'/wḏrydn* (e.g., the present text), *wtrm/yh'mn/mlk/sb'/wḏrydn* (e.g., Jamme 605), *nš'krb/y'mn/yhrḥb/mlk/sb'/wḏrydn* (e.g., Jamme 608), down through the reigns of *šmr/yhr'š/mlk/sb'/wḏrydn* (e.g., Jamme 652), *šmr/yhr'š/mlk/sb'/wḏrydn/wḥḍrm(w)t/wymnt* (e.g., Jamme 656) until *ṯ'rn/yhn'm/wbnhw/mlkkrb/y(h)'mn/mlky/sb'/wḏrydn/wḥḍrm(w)t/wymnt* (e.g., Jamme 669). The general similarity of type does not exclude minor differences found (e.g., *ḏ*, *k* and *t*) especially in texts belonging to the Sabaean king Šamir Yuhar'iš. It is quite obvious that such a palaeographical type cannot possibly be taken as basis for an identification.

Against the identification of *šmr/ḏrydn* with *šmr/yhr'š*, I may also advance two other epigraphical arguments taken from this very text. Line 16 of the present inscription mentions *šmr/ḏrydn/wmṣrt/ḥmyrm/wld'm* "Šamir, he of Raydân, and the expeditionary forces of Ḥimyarum, the children of 'Amm." G. Ryckmans erroneously reads (pp. 144 and 146) the end of this passage as *wgd'm*, which remains unexplained. The reading of *wld'm* is certain on the stone and is confirmed, if necessary, by three similar texts belonging to the reign of 'Ilšaraḥ Yaḥḍub and his brother Ya'zil Bayyin:

Jamme 577/2: *šmr/ḏrydn/w'š'b/ḥmyrm/wld'm* "Šamir, he of Raydân, and the tribes of Ḥimyarum, the children of 'Amm,"

Jamme 578/6-7: *krb'l/ḏrydn wkl/mṣr/w'š'b/whms/ḥmyrm/wld'm* "Karib'il, he of Raydân, and all the expeditionary corps and the tribes and the army of Ḥimyarum, the children of 'Amm," and

Jamme 589/9-10: *krb'l/ḏrydn/w'š'b/wmṣrt/ḥmyrm/wld'm* "Karib'il, he of Raydân, and the tribes and the expeditionary forces of Ḥimyarum, the children of 'Amm."

Jamme 577 is part of the continuation of the present text. The photograph of Jamme 589 fixes the reading of *l* (not *g*) in *wld'm*. The well-known expression *wld'm*, whose four occurrences with *ḏrydn* cannot be considered as accidental, designates each member of the four series as Qatabanian: first, *šmr* and *krb'l*, leaders of the native population mentioned after *rydn*, the majestic Jebel Reidân, as I already pointed out several years ago,[12] and secondly the Himyarites who were taking part

[12] Cf. *Pièces épigraphiques de Ḥeid bin 'Aqîl, la nécropole de Timna'* (*Hagr Koḥlân*), Louvain, 1952, pp. 20-21 and especially footnote 13, contrary to J. Ryckmans, *L'institution monarchique en Arabie méridionale avant l'Islam* (*Ma'în et Saba*), Louvain, 1951, pp. 158-162; cf. A. F. L. Beeston in *Le Muséon*, 67 (1954) p. 321.

of the Qatabanians as allies. There is, in my opinion, no possible identification between *šmr/ḏrydn* and *šmr/yhr'š*; the first is a Qatabanian leader and the second a Sabaean king.

The second argument against the identification proposed by Miss Pirenne is that the contexts mentioning *šmr/ḏrydn* lead us to the southwestern part of Qatabân. Šamir's allies are the tribes Saharatum (line 3), Radmân and Muḍḥayum (lines 3 and 11). The first was located in the Tihâmat,[13] an extensive area on the western coast; this location is too vague. But Radmân and Muḍḥayum are well known as old allies of Qatabân. Wa'lân, the chief city of the former, was about 90 km. southwest of Timna',[14] and the other tribe was probably located southwest of Wa'lân.[15] Besides, Šamir sends soldiers to the city *b'sn* (line 5) in order to protect his own border; if E. Glaser's opinion on *b'sn* [16] is correct, this city was located about 90 km. southwest of Wa'lân. Furthermore, the Sabaean forces marched against the city Zalm [17] (lines 13-14), which was probably in the southern part of Wâdi Beiḥân,[18] and had to fight against Šamir. Finally, Šamir is defeated near the city Ḏamar (line 16), which was about 70 km. north-northwest of Wa'lân.[19] All the preceding information on Šamir's war activities points to the west-southwest of Wâdi Beiḥân, that is to say to the southwest of Mârib. To get there, the two Sabaean kings first went westward to Ṣan'â' (line 3) and from there southward against Šamir, the chief of former Qatabân, who allied himself with tribes and cities located on his west-southwest border.

According to G. Ryckmans, the title of *mr'lqs* on line 2 is *bn/'[mr]m/mlk/ḥṣṣtn* (pp. 140 and 144). The wording of this passage needs some explanation. Taking into consideration the fact that according to G. Ryckmans a few words "sont effacés en partie" (p. 140) and also that broken brackets are used to indicate letters of doubtful reading, it seems that *mr* in '[*mr*]*m* being between full brackets, is considered even by the editor of the text as a pure restoration of the text, just as hypothetical and arbitrary as, e. g., *bd* in "'[*bd*]*m*," *bl* in "'[*bl*]*m*," etc. Yet he asserts the identity of *mr'lqs* of the present text with 'Imru'lqays *br 'mrw mlk 'l'rb klh* "son of 'Amr, king of all the Arabs," mentioned in the text from en-Nemâra.[20] It is noteworthy that G. Ryckmans does not say a word about the antinomy *mlk/ḥṣṣtn* and *mlk 'l'rb klh*; nor does he attempt to justify his restoration of *bn/'..m* as *bn/'[mr]m*. Now, Miss Pirenne says: "Un certain *mr'lqs/bn/'[mr]m* (ligne 2) qui s'identifierait tout naturellement à 'Imru 'l-Qays fils de 'Amr . . . nom et filiation correspondent . . . le fait que 'Imru 'l-Qays est appelé ici *roi de Haṣaṣatān*

[13] Cf. H. von Wissmann und M. Höfner, *Beiträge zur historischen Geographie des vorislamischen Südarabien*, Wiesbaden, 1953, p. 119.
[14] Cf. *l. c.*, map facing p. 64.
[15] Cf. *l. c.*, pp. 36-38 and 59-60.
[16] Cf. J. Ryckmans, in G. Ryckmans' commentary, p. 157.
[17] This proper name is read *n'ḍ* by G. Ryckmans (cf. pp. 143 and 146).
[18] Cf. H. von Wissmann und M. Höfner, *l. c.*, p. 29, footnote 3.
[19] Cf. *l. c.*, pp. 21 and 61.
[20] Cf. p. 152 and also p. 204 in the same issue of *Le Muséon*. For the text from en-Nemâra, cf. *Répertoire chronologique d'épigraphie arabe*, Le Caire, I (1931), No. 1 (328 A. D.), pp. 1-2; the city en-Nemâra is located about 125 km. southeast of Damascus.

et non pas, comme la tradition a coutume de la faire *roi de Ḥira*, ne laisse subsister qu'un doute bien mince quant à l'identité du personnage avec l'auteur de l'inscription d'en-Nemāra. Admettons de conserver encore un doute sur l'identification de . . . 'Imru 'l-Qays." (p. 167). Nevertheless, the proper name following *mr'lqs/bn/* is clear on the stone: it reads *'wfm*. The combination of Miss Pirenne is thus completely without foundation. Besides, the best parallel to *mr'lqs* is not *'mr' 'lqys* but *mr'lqys*, personal name in the inscription from Zebed.[21]

The historical synchronism in line 11 mentions an Ethiopian king whose name is read *wḏbh* by G. Ryckmans (pp. 142 and 145), who identifies him with king Wazeba (p. 161); Miss Pirenne simply follows her master (p. 167). Even if the reading of *wḏbh* were correct, the royal Ethiopian lists are so incomplete and uncertain that it would surely be unwise to base any definitive identification on them. However, the name of the Ethiopian king is *'ḏbh* and not *wḏbh*; its reading is beyond doubt on the stone. I know that the error of engraving[22] *ḏwsm* (line 13) instead of *ḏ'sm* could possibly be taken into consideration in order to suggest reading *(w)ḏbh* instead of the engraved *'ḏbh*. But *ḏwsm* is an obvious and certain error, and we have not the slightest reason to think that *'ḏbh* is another mistake.

The identifications presented by G. Ryckmans and Miss Pirenne are thus completely without basis in the text, so the palaeographical commentary is irrelevant and the historical conclusions are erroneous.*

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[21] Cf. *Répertoire chronologique*, *l. c.*, No. 2 (512 A.D.), pp. 2-3; Zebed is about 60 km. southeast of Aleppo (Syria).

[22] This error of engraving is not mentioned in G. Ryckmans' decipherment.

* [In *Le Muséon*, Vol. LXIX (1956), pp. 369-389, Professor G. Ryckmans has just published another of the important inscriptions excavated at Mârib in 1952 by the expedition of the American Foundation for the Study of Man, then under the archaeological direction of Dr. F. P. Albright. On pp. 369 f. he prefaces the paper with a rather unusual statement. First he quotes from my letter of the 28th July, 1956, written him immediately after receiving a reprint of his article publishing "Ry 535," to the effect that it is "one of the most important inscriptions which we had excavated in the 'Awwâm temple at Mârib," but without suggesting in any way that I had been disturbed by his publication. What I actually wrote was: "I was surprised to find your publication of one of the most important inscriptions which we had excavated in the 'Awwâm Temple at Mârib, but I am aware that standards of ethics and courtesy differ in different countries. Anyway, there is no object in discussing this matter further at present." We had a long talk at Strasbourg in late August, as Professor Ryckmans says, but my recollection of our conversation is quite different from his. For one thing, I insisted on the fact that I alone was responsible for the delay in publishing Father Jamme's long completed book on the Mârib inscriptions, because of my own ill health and lack of time for the necessary editorial work. Ryckmans' words, "absence d'un inventaire" presumably refer to the lack of a *published* inventory, since I told him that Jamme had brought complete records of all the inscriptions with him in his notebooks when the party had to flee from Yemen. Since Ryckmans has not yet published an inventory of the inscriptions which his party found at the same time in Sa'udi Arabia, it is strange that he should labor this point.

I agree entirely with Father Jamme's epigraphic corrections, and recognize that I was wrong in assuming (in private letters) that "Ry 535" belongs to a later king of the same name. The script is more careless than that of the best inscriptions of

THE PRAYER OF NABONIDUS

David Noel Freedman

Publication of the "Prayer of Nabonidus" fragments from Qumran Cave IV offers the prospect of an early solution, or at least clarification, of several problems connected with the composition of the Book of Daniel on the one hand, and the background and history of the people of Qumran on the other.[1] While detailed study of the fragments will be required for definitive judgments, some of the possibilities may be outlined here on the basis of what has appeared.

1. It would appear certain that the original story which underlies the present text of Daniel 4 concerned Nabonidus rather than Nebuchadnezzar.[2] The relationship of the text of Daniel to the 4Q fragments is more complex, and we cannot speak of direct literary dependence.[3] Comparison of the two accounts shows, however, that in the basic matter of the identity of the afflicted king, the Qumran material preserves the more original tradition. Since Nabonidus does not appear in the biblical record, we may argue that the Essenes had access to authentic Babylonian traditions. This in turn would support the view that the people of Qumran included later migrants from Babylonia than the principal groups of exiled Jews reported in the Bible, and that they had returned to Palestine at a comparatively recent date.[4]

2. The Book of Daniel in its present form is clearly the work of a Palestinian author of *ca.* 165 B.C. At the same time, the case for the composite character of the book and the Babylonian origin of chaps. 1-6 is strengthened by the new evidence.[5] Behind Daniel 4 there is a story of the third (or an earlier) century, originating in Babylon. The substitution of "Nebuchadnezzar" for "Nabonidus" most likely took place after the story was brought to Palestine, since the more accurate

the time of Ilsharaḥ Yaḥdub, but this is not enough to indicate a later phase of the same type of script. During all this time I had no chance to confer with Father Jamme, and so this mistake is mine alone. Nor had Jamme a chance to see the enlargements which I had made from the photographic prints which Professor Ryckmans was so kind as to send me while I was in Ankara. I very much regret the bitter personal controversies which have arisen among South-Arabian scholars and will do my best, in future as in the past, to pacify them. At the same time, it will be a great pity if students in this field abandon the principles of professional ethics and courtesy which have become familiar in other fields of research (though even there sometimes forgotten, or complicated by misunderstanding of practices considered perfectly legitimate by scholars of one school or nationality but not by their colleagues in another group or country).—W. F. Albright.]

[1] J.-T. Milik, "'Prière de Nabonide' et autres écrits d'un cycle de Daniel," *Revue Biblique*, LXIII: 3 (July, 1956), 407-15.

[2] See already Sidney Smith, *Babylonian Historical Texts* (London, 1924), pp. 36, 46, 50, 78.

[3] Milik, *op. cit.*, 410 f.

[4] W. F. Albright, "New Light on Early Recensions of the Hebrew Bible," *BASOR*, No. 140 (Dec., 1955), p. 30, and n. 14.

[5] Cf., J. A. Montgomery, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on The Book of Daniel* ("International Critical Commentary" [New York, 1927]), pp. 89 f., 96.

tradition presumably persisted in Babylonian circles, where information about Nabonidus was available. There is no reason to suppose that the Palestinian author of the present Book of Daniel was responsible for this shift. By his time apparently all memory of Nabonidus had been lost in Palestine, and he simply transmitted the tradition as it had come down to him.

3. If we are correct in holding that I Daniel (i. e., chaps. 1-6) consists essentially of Babylonian traditions, we may argue further that the materials in chaps. 3-5, at least, had already assumed substantially their present form in the pre-Palestinian period, and were incorporated as a unit by the author of Daniel (though with necessary changes). The case may be put as follows:

Chap. 5 contains the familiar but enigmatic story of the handwriting on the wall. It is generally conceded that behind the "etymological" explanation of the terms given by Daniel (is this perhaps a contribution of the author?) lies an older interpretation according to which the key terms signify different weights, each with its appropriate monetary value.[6] These in turn are held to represent various kings of the Neo-Babylonian empire.[7] Of recent expositions, that of H. L. Ginsberg is the most ingenious.[8] He maintains that there were originally only three figures, represented by three weights: the *mina*, the *shekel*, and the *half-mina* or *peres*.[9] He concludes that the kings in question are Nebuchadnezzar, Evil-Merodach, and Belshazzar.[10]

The only difficulty with this solution is the presence of Evil-Merodach, who does not figure in the Book of Daniel at all, and who plays so inconspicuous a role in history and the Bible that we may question whether he deserves even a shekel's worth of recognition. The discovery of the 4Q fragments make it possible to suggest an improvement on Ginsberg's interpretation. In the earlier Babylonian recension of the complex Daniel 3-5, there were stories about *three* different kings. It is clear that the missing king between Nebuchadnezzar (chap. 3) and Belshazzar (chap. 5) was not Evil-Merodach, but Nabonidus (chap. 4). These three then are respectively the *mina*, the *shekel*, and the *half-mina*, of Dan 5:26-28.

It may be noted also that the awkward references to Nebuchadnezzar as Belshazzar's father (5:2, 11, 13, 18 ff.) would naturally have specified or implied Nabonidus in the pre-Palestinian account, especially in vss. 18-23 which refer to the episode in chap. 4. When the change to Nebuchadnezzar was made in chap. 4, it was carried through 5 as well. Thus Nabonidus was permanently removed from the record. The only surviving trace of him would seem to be the single word, *teqel*, written on the wall.

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[6] Cf. E. G. Kraeling, "The Handwriting on the Wall," *JBL*, LXIII (1944), 11-18.

[7] For different views see Kraeling, *ibid.*, and Arthur Jeffery, "The Book of Daniel: Introduction and Exegesis," in *The Interpreter's Bible*, Vol. VI, pp. 431-32.

[8] Ginsberg, *Studies in Daniel* (New York, 1948), pp. 24-26.

[9] *Ibid.*, p. 24; for analysis of the original text, cf. Montgomery, *op. cit.*, pp. 261 ff.

[10] Ginsberg, *op. cit.*, p. 25. Evil-Merodach (562-560 B. C.) is mentioned in II Kings 25:27 ff.

A LEGAL FORMULA IN EGYPTIAN, EGYPTIAN-ARAMAIC, AND MURABBA'AT DOCUMENTS

JACOB J. RABINOWITZ

In the Aramaic deed of sale published by Milik,[1] lines 15-16, the signatures of the seller and of his wife, each, are followed by the words *'al nafšēh*, which are rendered by Milik as *pour lui-même* and *pour elle-même*, respectively. In my comments on this document,[2] I have explained the woman's participation in the sale as necessary in order to release the property from a charge in her favor under the terms of her *Kethubah*. From a certain tannaitic text quoted in the Babylonian Talmud it appears that under the practice which prevailed among Jews in Palestine about the middle of the 2nd century C. E. a married woman would signify her assent to the sale of property by her husband by signing the deed of sale, exactly as was done in our document. In Babylonian Talmud Kethuboth 95a, it is stated:

> *kātav lâ-rîšôn w^{e}-lô ḥāt^{e}māh lô, laš-šēnî w^{e}-ḥāt^{e}māh lô, 'ibb^{e}dāh k^{e}tûvātāh—divrê rabbî Mē'îr*
>
> "If he (the husband) wrote (a deed of sale) to the first (purchaser) and she (the wife) did not sign to him, then he wrote to the second (purchaser) and she did sign to him, she has lost her Kethubah—so Rabbi Meir."

In the document from Murabba'at published by de Vaux,[3] line 9, the signature of the party at whose instance the document was prepared is also followed by the words *'al nafšēh* which are similarly rendered by de Vaux as *pour lui même*.

A formula of similar import occurs in an Egyptian deed of sale of the seventh century B. C. and in an Aramaic papyrus of the fifth century B. C. In the Egyptian document the signatures of the seller and of his son, in Griffith's English translation, appear in the following form:

> "Written by the divine father (?) Aho (?) son of Hôr, son of Pemû, for himself. Attested by the divine father Hôr, son of Pemû, for himself."[4]

In Cowley 13, a deed of conveyance dated 447 B. C., lines 16-18, it is stated:

> *ktb Ntn br 'nnyh spr' znh kpm Mḥsyh, w-šhdy' b-gw ktb Mḥsyh b-ky npšh*

[1] J. T. Milik, *Un contrat juif de l'an 134 après J. C.*, *Revue Biblique* 61 (1954), 182 ff.

[2] *BASOR*, No. 136 (December, 1954), 15 f.

[3] R. de Vaux, *Quelques textes hébreux de Murabba'at*, *Revue Biblique* 60 (1953), 270 ff.

[4] F. Ll. Griffith, *Catalogue of the Demotic Papyri in the John Rylands Library*, v. 3, p. 46.

Commenting on the words *b-ky npšh*, Cowley says:

> "The meaning is quite obscure. It looks as if Mahseiah had become impatient, seized a pen and written something hastily. If so, he probably meant (as S-C) 'M. wrote for himself,' but it is not clear how the words can mean that."[5]

In the light of the parallels just mentioned, Cowley's speculations about Mahseiah's haste seem to be quite gratuitous.[6] Mahseiah apparently followed a formula which at the time had already been use for at least two centuries and which was to continue in use for at least another six centuries.

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WILLIAM L. REED,
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[5] A. Cowley, *Aramic Papyri of the Fifth Century B.C.*, p. 38.
[6] *Ibid.*, p. 41.

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